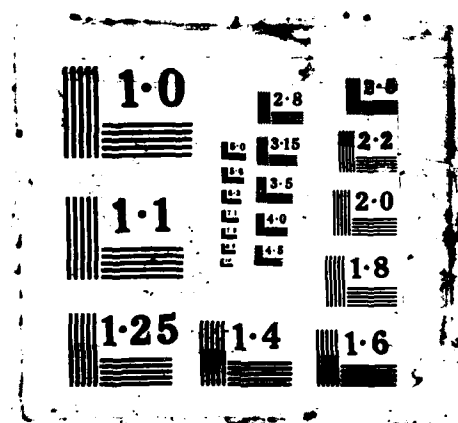
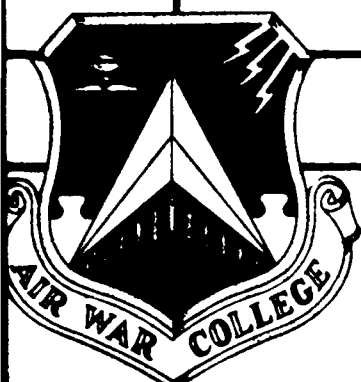


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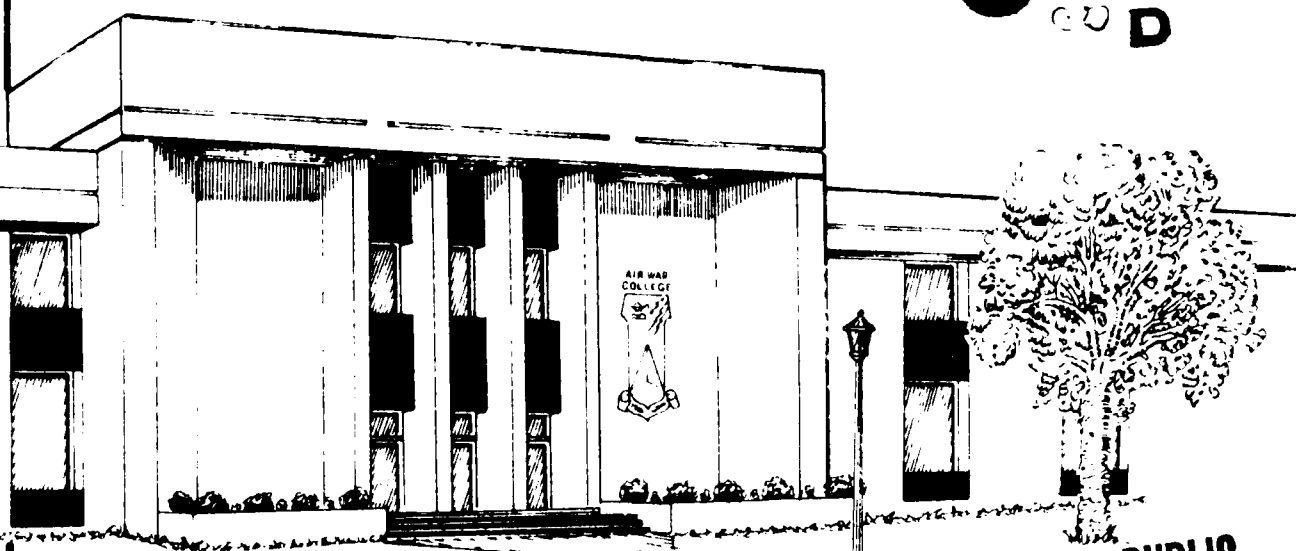
RESEARCH REPORT

No. AU-AWC-86-095

A POLICY ANALYSIS OF THE ADMISSION OF WOMEN BY THE
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMIES

By COLONEL RICHARD R. HEINZMAN

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UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, ALABAMA

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A POLICY ANALYSIS OF THE
ADMISSION OF WOMEN BY THE
U. S. MILITARY ACADEMIES

by

Richard R. Heinzman
Colonel, USAF

A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
IN
FULFILLMENT OF THE RESEARCH
REQUIREMENT

Research Advisor: Colonel Hans J. Asmus

MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, ALABAMA

March 1986

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AIR WAR COLLEGE RESEARCH REPORT ABSTRACT

TITLE: A Policy Analysis of the Admission of Women by the U. S. Military Academies

AUTHOR: Richard R. Heinzman, Colonel, USAF

➤ This paper presents an analysis of the policy change promulgated by the United States Congress in 1975 directing the admission of females by the U. S. military academies. It examines the issue, participants, and general results.

The study begins by reviewing the factors which identified the need for a policy change. It then traces the initiation and formulation process. Enactment of the legislation which legitimated the policy change involved many participants. The proponents and opponents are presented with an analysis of their strategies.

Implementation of the policy is reviewed by examining the process and its successes and failures. The study concludes with brief comments on the policy, its legitimation, implementation, and the ultimate winners in the process.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Colonel Heinzman was born and raised in Christopher, Illinois. He earned a Bachelor of Science Degree in Marketing and Management from the University of Illinois and received his Air Force commission through the ROTC program in 1965. His initial assignments included duties at Beale AFB, California and Headquarters Strategic Air Command, Offutt AFB, Nebraska. He was subsequently assigned duties in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Pentagon. His next assignment was as the Senior Advisor to the Highlands Military Academy, Pleiku, Republic of Vietnam. Upon returning to the United States, he served as Air Officer Commanding, 38th Cadet Squadron, USAF Academy, Colorado. He then served in two assignments at Scott AFB, Illinois: Chief, Logistics Plans, 375th Aeromedical Airlift Wing; and, Chief, Logistics Training Division, Deputy Chief of Staff Logistics, Headquarters Military Airlift Command. During this period he earned a Master's Degree in Political Science from Webster College, Missouri. His next four years were at Rhein-Main AB, Germany as Commander of the 435th Transportation Squadron and Deputy Base Commander. Colonel Heinzman is a graduate of the Air War College, class of 1986.

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INTRODUCTION/OVERVIEW

This report is an analysis of the policy, or law, enacted in October 1975 directing the admission of women by the U. S. military academies. It examines the event through a series of stages: Stage I - Problem Identification, Stage II - Initiation/Formulation, Stage III - Legitimation, and Stage IV - Post Legitimation.

The U. S. Military Academy, West Point, NY, was founded in 1802; the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD, in 1845; and the U. S. Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, CO, in 1954. (1:46-49) From their very beginnings, each has been a bastion of male exclusivity, steeped in tradition and dedicated to graduating the elite officer corps for the military services. Therefore, their very foundations trembled when in January 1972, Senator Jacob K. Javits (R-NY) submitted the first serious nomination of a female for admission to the U. S. Naval Academy. (3:13) (Representative Robert B. Duncan (D-OR) had nominated a woman to West Point in the early sixties without reaction.) (3:11) The nomination was rejected on the basis that admission of women to the U. S. military academies was contrary to law and custom. Subsequently, Senator Javits and Representative Jack P. McDonald (R-MI) introduced a concurrent resolution in March that women should not be denied entry to a service academy solely on the ground of

sex. It passed the Senate, but died in a House committee.
(3:11)

In September 1973, two California Democratic House members, Jerome R. Waldie and Don Edwards, filed suit in the U. S. District Court in Washington, D. C., on behalf of women constituents who wanted to attend the Naval and Air Force academies. On 19 June 1974, Judge Oliver Gasch issued a ruling that there was a "legitimate government interest" in denying women admission to the academies. (4:1819)
Waldie and Edwards were planning to appeal; however, the issue was now beginning to receive attention in the Congress.

In October 1973, Representative Pierre S. DuPont (D-DE) introduced a bill to the House on the admission of women to the service academies. It was forwarded to the House Armed Services Committee, but was overtaken by events of the Hathaway amendment. (5:4)

In December 1973, Senator William D. Hathaway (D-ME) offered an amendment to a Senate bill pertaining to special military bonuses to allow women to attend the military academies. The amendment was approved by voice vote. However, when the Senate bill went to the House, the House Armed Services Committee deleted the amendment. When the bill went to a Senate House conference, the Senate conferees agreed to the deletion of the amendment only because the House Armed Services Committee promised to hold hearings on

the issue. (4:1818) The House Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Personnel held hearings on the issue in May, June, July, and August. However, no action was taken as far as introducing legislation. (6:606)

In May 1975, during consideration on the floor of the House of the Fiscal 1976 Research, Development and Procurement bill (HR 6674), Representative Samuel S. Stratton (D-NY) offered an amendment to allow women to enter the military academies. The amendment was adopted by a wide margin and the House passed the bill on 20 May 1975.

(7:1079) The Senate was also considering its version of this bill (S 920) when Senator William D. Hathaway again offered an amendment on the floor to allow women to be admitted to the military academies. This amendment contained the proviso that the admission would begin in 1976. The amendment passed the Senate. Before the two bills were sent to a Senate House conference, the Senate incorporated its version of the bill in the House numbered bill. It then went to conference on 9 June 1975. (8:1212)

The Senate House conferees retained the Hathaway proposal in the final version and President Ford signed the bill on 7 October 1975. (9:64) With this action, the policy was now law, and women were to be admitted to the military academies the following summer.

STAGE I

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

The issue of admitting women to the military academies emerged and developed primarily from the atmosphere of the late sixties and early seventies. During this period of the women's liberation movement and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment by the House in 1971 and the Senate in 1972, women were moving into numerous areas that had previously been male domains. The equal rights movement had a great deal of momentum, and many of the leaders of this movement appeared to be searching for new mountains to conquer rather than striving merely for equality. In the military services, women were also moving into fields previously occupied only by men. In addition, military leaders were well aware that the draft was coming to a close, and they were intent on making the all volunteer system work. The idea of an all volunteer force together with the equal rights movement created a climate that was ripe for change in the traditionally slow-to-change military services. (3:15)

When Senator Javits (R-NY) nominated a female for admission to the Naval Academy in January 1972, it became the subject of a lengthy debate between Senator Javits and Secretary of the Navy, John Chaffee. (Senator Javits had

previously been the first Senator to nominate a girl for the job of Senate page.) Javits argued that since 3.6 percent of naval officers were women, a similar percentage of the Annapolis entering class and graduates should be women.

(10:13) The military argued that admission of women was contrary to law and custom. Military leaders said the purpose of the military academies was to train officers for combat by law. Furthermore, admission of women would irrevocably change the academies and dilute the Spartan atmosphere so necessary in the final product of mental toughness and physical capacity. (4:1818-1820)

Although the nomination was not accepted, in August 1972, the Army, Navy, and Air Force all announced plans to widen opportunities for servicewomen. These opportunities included opening of more career fields, better living conditions, improved assignment policies for spouses to accompany each other, maternity leave, and allowing women with dependents to remain on active duty. There was no mention of the military academies, except for the Air Force. They indicated they were making plans for admitting women to the academy if Congress so directed. (11:51) However, the idea of women attending military academies was still in its infant stage. Even feminist publications were not going so far as to give much serious thought to the idea. In March of 1973, reporting on the many new military careers for women, Seventeen magazine said:

While it may be years before eighteen-year-old girls walk the Yard of the Naval Academy at Annapolis or answer to the age-old Mister - or Ms - Dumbjohn at West Point, the revolution has affected virtually every other aspect of life in the military services. (12:126)

The issue did not seem to develop along partisan lines. After Senator Javits' nomination of Barbara Jo Brimmer to the Naval Academy, Representatives Jerome R. Waldie (D-CA) and Don Edwards (D-CA) filed suit in the U. S. District Court in Washington, D. C., on behalf of women constituents who wanted to attend the Naval and Air Force academies.

Attorneys for the women asked the court to rule that the military's refusal to consider their applications deprived them of equal rights in training, employment, and career advancement in the military, and that Edwards and Waldie were therefore denied the chance to exercise their nominating authority fairly. The laws on women in combat did not preclude women from attending the academies, the attorneys argued, because training for many other positions was also offered. (13:1819)

On 19 June 1974, Judge Oliver Gasch issued a ruling that there was a "legitimate government interest" in denying women admission to the academies. He said this was "the preparation of young men to assume leadership roles in combat where necessary to the defense of the nation." (13:1819) He concluded that laws and customs did prevent women from engaging in combat.

Thus, the issue probably grew out of the larger issue of equal rights for women. It was brought to the attention of government by individual congressmen which was quite appropriate since every congressman is granted the

authority to nominate individuals to the academies.

However, their attentiveness to the issue was probably a result of the political attractiveness of the idea rather than purely idealistic.

STAGE II

INITIATION/FORMULATION

The issue of admitting women to the military academies did not really develop in identifiable stages. Rather, it emerged out of the atmosphere of the era and the actions of congressmen. The concern for women's rights and Senator Javits' (R-NY) nomination of a woman to Annapolis in 1972 brought the issue to the attention of the public. He announced his action to the press, and it received no real public opposition. As other congressmen saw the political attractiveness of the issue with no real chance for criticism, they jumped on the bandwagon. After all, half of their constituents were women.

The policy was initiated by Senator Hathaway (D-ME) as an amendment to the Special Military Bonuses bill in December 1973. (14:785) Thus, there was no typical lengthy formulation of the policy in the executive branch. While the House Military Personnel Subcommittee held hearings in May, June, July, and August of 1974, the earlier policy formulation of the Equal Rights Amendment had been achieved and, by most opinions, encompassed this issue. (3:15)

The only significant response to the issue was from the military and their staunch supporters on the House Armed Services Committee and Military Personnel Subcommittee.

Several of the members were opposed to the idea, but they attacked the issue of women in combat more than women's admission to the academies. In the end, they initiated some delaying tactics by deleting the provision in a conference committee and not issuing a subcommittee report rather than escalating it into a major issue. (3:15-36)

While the military appeared to respond adamantly in opposition, it was not a recalcitrant effort. The Superintendents of the military academies, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the Service Secretaries voiced opposition to the subcommittee holding hearings on the issue. Their concerns were primarily with women in combat and the disproportionate effects produced with women holding more of the support positions. This would cause men to spend more time in combat and at sea. (3:20-32)

It appeared that the military recognized the public and political atmosphere and opinions as well as the appropriate significance of the issue. While they would rather have not had women in the academies, it was not of enough consequence to organize an all out opposition. Furthermore, though not stated publicly, it seems reasonable to suggest they must have recognized the increased base of support admission of women would develop for the academies during a period when there was growing criticism of their cost effectiveness.

STAGE III

LEGITIMATION

The policy of admitting women to the military academies was not really subject to a great deal of modification or change. It was much simpler than most policies in that the question was basically yes or no. While other alternatives, such as establishing a separate military academy for women were given brief consideration, they were actually different concepts rather than modifications of the basic issue -- should the military academies be coeducational?

When the policy was initially introduced in the Senate in 1973, it received very little formal opposition by the politicians themselves. This is evidenced by the fact that it was approved with no opposition on the floor of the Senate. It was introduced via an amendment by William D. Hathaway (D-ME) and co-sponsored by Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-MT), Strom Thurmond (R-SC), and Jacob Javits (R-NY). John C. Stennis (D-MS), Chairman of the Armed Services Committee and floor manager of the Special Military Bonuses bill, also gave his approval to the amendment.

(14:784-785)

In the House, there was more observable opposition. On 1 March 1974, the House Armed Services Committee reported

the Senate bill to the full House with the provision to admit women to the military academies deleted in committee by a vote of 18 to 16. This was their only major change to the bill. The committee explained their rejection of the provision by saying it was not germane to the purpose of the bill and required separate hearings. On the floor of the House, debate centered on this issue. (14:784)

Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) and Otis G. Pike (D-NY) complained that Representative Schroeder had been prevented from voting on the amendment in committee. F. Edward Herbert (D-LA), Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, denied that the Committee had violated its rules. After arguments by Representatives Schroeder and Pike that (1) Representative Herbert was stalling; (2) the committee's action was contrary to the proposed Equal Rights Amendment awaiting ratification by the States; (3) the provision would make the Armed Services more attractive to women; and, (4) suspension of the rules prevented Representative Schroeder from offering an amendment from the floor, Representative Samuel S. Stratton (D-NY), floor manager of the bill, said he was personally in favor of admitting women to the military academies, but the Bonus Bill was "simply not the proper vehicle." (14:785) He and Representative Herbert assured members who supported the concept that the Committee would hold hearings on the issue. The House passed the bill on 18 March 1974, by a 237 to 97 vote with the amendment

admitting women deleted. However, only three of the House's sixteen female members voted for it. Six voted against the bill and seven did not vote. (14:785)

The bill then went to a Senate House conference where the Senate amendment allowing women to attend the military academies was deleted. However, the conference report said that:

The Senate receded 'reluctantly' on the issue of women at the service academies after the House Conferees pointed out that the leadership of the House Armed Services Committee has indicated its intention to hold hearings on this legislation, and such would be the most appropriate way of dealing with the matter. (15:1134)

Congress cleared the bill for the President's signature on 24 April 1974, as reported by the conference committee. (15:1134)

In essence, proponents tried to get the issue legitimated by attaching it as an amendment, while the opponents blocked it on method of legitimation rather than publicly opposing the issue. The opponents on the House Armed Services Committee were supported only by the military. The proponents appeared to have the support of majorities in both the House and Senate as well as popular support created by the Equal Rights Amendment. But the proponents were not well organized or receiving the strong support of any interest group. The women's groups agreed with the policy, but did not put forth as much pressure as possible since they were concentrating on passage of the

Equal Rights Amendment. Therefore, the opponents were successful with their tactics for almost two years.

As a result of the promise by Representative Herbert, the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Personnel held hearings on the issue in May, June, July, and August of 1974. The Army, Navy, and Air Force opposed the proposal on the grounds that the military academies existed to turn out combat ready officers and that women were and should remain legally exempt from combat. Testimony from Deputy Secretary of Defense, William P. Clements; the Service Secretaries; Air Force Chief of Staff, General George P. Brown; Army Vice-Chief of Staff, General Frederick C. Weyand; Navy Vice-Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Worth H. Bagley; and, the Superintendents of the three military academies all cited the legal restriction, established customs, additional costs, and other programs for women which made their admission to the academies unnecessary. (3:20-32)

The proponents felt that whether or not women were capable or should be sent into combat were not really the issues. Representative Schroeder said: "It's not like everyone from West Point immediately moves into a trench with a sleeping bag." (4:1820) Representative Stenstrom charged that the contention that women should be excluded from the academies because they could not serve in combat roles was "unmitigated nonsense." (4:1820) He felt the

military's real motivation was bureaucratic inertia and resistance to change. Other proponents included Dante B. Fascell (D-FL), Bill Frenzel (R-MN), and Marlow C. Cook (R-KY). Many of the subcommittee members appeared negative or undecided on the issue. Chairman O. C. Fisher (D-TX) said he had made no commitment. Majorie S. Holt (R-MD) felt women should be exempt from combat because of their role as childbearers. And G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D-MS) offered a different perspective: "I haven't had very much experience with women. I haven't been married so I don't know how they stand up in combat." (4:1820) Even though these hearings seemed to substantiate the popular support of the issue, the House Armed Services Committee took no more action on the issue and appeared to hope that the issue would simply fade away. This may be due in part to the fact that the proponents were not really organized or supported by any notable interest group.

In May 1975, while the Equal Rights Amendment was losing momentum and actually losing ground, the proponents saw their opportunity in the military weapons procurement bill. They knew this was essential legislation for the Defense Department. Representative Samuel S. Stratton offered an amendment to the Fiscal 1976 Research, Development, and Procurement bill (HR 5674) that would allow women to enroll in the military academies. He said: "I do not usually support far-out positions as far as defense

legislation is concerned, but the idea of women in the service academies is . . . an idea whose time has come."

(7:1079) Opponents, such as G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery argued: "This really is a foot in the door of putting women in combat." (7:1079) Proponents argued that a General Accounting Office study showed that more than ten percent of all academy graduates never have seen combat. The amendment was adopted by a wide margin, 303 to 96; and, the House passed the bill by a 332 to 64 vote on 20 May 1975.

(7:1079)

It is interesting to note that during this same time period, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) issued a regulation which was signed by President Ford on 27 May 1975, banning sex discrimination in the nation's schools and colleges. This regulation was mandated by Congress when it added Title IX to the Education Amendments of 1972 and sought to eliminate sex discrimination in any educational program or activity that received federal financial assistance. The regulation issued by HEW totally exempted the Army, Navy, and Air Force academies from its provisions. (16:1298)

During floor action in the Senate on the Senate version of the Procurement Authorization Bill (S 920), an amendment was offered by William D. Hathaway to direct that women be admitted to the military academies beginning in 1976. There was no objection to the amendment voiced on the

Senate floor. It was supported by members of both parties, liberals, and conservatives. They included Dewey F. Bartlett (R-OK), Sam Nunn (D-GA), Dick Clark (D-IA), Birch Bayh (D-IN), and Strom Thurmond. Even John C. Stennis, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, supported the issue. The Senate bill was approved by a 77 to 6 margin on 6 June 1975. (8:1212-1213) This was the first time both houses of Congress had agreed formally on this issue. Therefore, when the two bills went to a Senate House conference, the members were left with little choice but to leave the amendment in the bill. Before the Senate asked for a conference with the House to reconcile differences in the two versions of the bill, it incorporated its version in the House numbered bill. The measure was then sent to conference on 9 June 1975. (8:1212)

During July, Senate House conferees met eighteen times to resolve some 305 differences between the Senate and House versions of the bill. No consideration was given to deleting the amendment allowing women to enter the military academies. The bill, as agreed by the conferees, directed admission of women to the military academies beginning in school year 1976. (17:1737-1738)

On 30 July 1975 the House adopted the conference report by a 348 to 60 vote. On 1 August the Senate rejected the conference report by a vote of 48 to 42. They defeated the bill basically because the conference bill increased

authorization levels by \$750,848,000 over the Senate passed version of the bill. The bill was then returned to a second Senate House conference. (17:1737-1739)

The second conference committee reached agreement on 17 September. House conferees filed a report 18 September and Senate conferees filed a report 19 September. The House adopted the second conference report on 24 September and the Senate adopted it on 26 September. President Ford signed the bill into law on 7 October 1975 with very little fanfare. (18:378-379)

The apparent losers in this process were the military and its staunch supporters in the House Armed Services Committee--especially Herbert and Montgomery. The apparent winners were Javits and Hathaway in the Senate along with Schroeder and Pike in the House. These individuals had taken the strongest stand on the issue, initially. The winners also included the majority of congressmen, since the policy appeared to be supported by a majority in both houses from the very beginning.

STAGE IV

POST-LEGITIMATION

After legitimation of the policy to admit women to the military academies in October of 1975, there were no significant developments in the policy. The issue did not really lend itself to any interpretation concerning implementation or application other than the numbers to be admitted. The policy specifically stated that women would be admitted beginning with the class of 1976. The military did not attempt to delay or subvert the policy in any way. In fact, many military leaders did a rapid about face. Lieutenant General Sidney B. Berry, Superintendent at West Point, who once threatened to resign if women were admitted said, "It was rather adolescent on my part." (19:74) And, the consensus from the military departments was that coeds were not likely to be much of a problem after all. (9:64) The academies already had numerous women applicants, and the new law produced an influx of more applications. Therefore, the academies had no difficulties in implementing the policy. In fact, the large number of applications enabled them to maintain exceptionally high standards in the women they admitted. (5:20-21)

There were some differences among the academies in implementing the policy. While there was no attempt to

create failure and all were considered successful, the three academies took different approaches.

West Point assumed a solemn concern for maintaining standards as their primary concern during the transition period. The Naval Academy was indifferent. It attempted to treat the whole process as routine and uneventful. The Air Force Academy was enthusiastic and determined in its approach. Its decision to implement detailed planning early (1972) established a sense of commitment to the process. However, the Air Force Academy was the only one of the three service academies to elect separate billeting for the women and the use of young female officers, Air Training Officers (ATO), to conduct military training, provide understanding counseling, and serve as role models for the women cadets. (3:6;20:60)

While as early as the spring of 1976, when the ATOs were undergoing their training, the disadvantages of separate billeting for women began to appear, it was most apparent after the arrival of the women cadets. They were perceived as not undergoing the same military training as the men, since they went to their segregated living quarters after dinner rather than to their assigned squadron areas. This also prevented them from becoming an active part of their squadrons. Additionally, women were only assigned to 20 of the 40 cadet squadrons. Consequently, cadets of the other 20 squadrons had little personal experience with the

female cadets and little or no first-hand knowledge of their actual training performance. Therefore, a second living area was created at the end of the first semester and women assigned to the other 20 cadet squadrons. At the beginning of their second year, women were moved to their squadron areas and clustered in groups. In the fall of their third year, they were completely integrated into the dormitories residing next door to and across the hall from males.

(3:24)

The ATO program had its successes and failures. As surrogate upperclassmen to train the women cadets, the ATO function failed. Contrary to the original concept, it was discovered, primarily from the ATO training, that men could effectively train women. With this evidence and the few ATOs to train the women (two ATOs residing in the dormitory with 140 women cadets), the men in the upperclasses soon perceived the ATOs as taking their jobs with much less effectiveness. The concept of the ATO as a role model for the women was also not entirely successful. The ATO role eroded as men took over more of the military training and it was discovered the women cadets seemed to require less counseling rather than more as originally anticipated. Consequently, the women cadets began disassociating themselves from the ATOs, denying the need for ATOs, and disavowing any regard for them as their idea of role models. What the ATO program seems to have accomplished was to teach

the men, especially during the ATO training program, that women could be trained by men and there was really no need to treat them much differently. (3:242-248) In its failure, the ATO program may have been the most important aspect of preparing the cadets themselves for the admission of women. It significantly facilitated the integration process for both the men and the women.

There were many beneficiaries of this policy. But the military, once the strongest opponent, was probably the greatest. The admission of women significantly broadened the base of support for the military academies at a time when they were coming under increased criticism for their high cost per graduate. It also made the academies more attractive to potential applicants. Admission of women also impacted on overall military recruiting. It helped to illustrate the equal opportunities for both men and women in the military services. It improved the military image by demonstrating the military can and does change; thus, adding credence to the concept of a modern military meeting the needs of a modern society.

In addition to the military being beneficiaries, members of Congress, the executive branch, and the American people, not to mention the cadets themselves (both male and female) all benefitted. The members of Congress and the President could now nominate any deserving high school graduate for appointment. Every American family could feel

that all their children had the opportunity to compete for academy appointments. And, cadets were provided both a more realistic and broader education by attending a coeducational institution.

It might be argued that the male population did not benefit by this policy since five to ten percent of the appointments for each class now go to women at the expense of men. However, this argument is shallow when one considers that the vast majority of appointments go to men, and they are generally available on a competitive basis.

There was very little additional cost incurred by this new policy. There were some minor modifications made to facilities at the academies. However, since the size of entering classes was not increased to accommodate the women, there were no significant additional costs. (5:11-19)

Essentially, the post-legitimation stage has gone quite smoothly. Women cadets have fared more favorably than many predicted. Overall attrition for the first Air Force Academy class with women cadets was 42.4 percent: 42.9 percent men and 37.2 percent women. In academics, the women fell behind the men during their early years when math and science courses are the heaviest. After the second semester of their second year, the first class of women outscored the men. In military performance, women cadets again were behind the men in their early years. By their third year, they were virtually equal. Likewise, women cadets fared

well in athletics. They compiled a winning percentage of 68.9 percent, a record of 191 wins and 86 losses, in three years of intercollegiate athletics. (5:21-27) The implementation of the policy and subsequent integration of women into the service academies has been a success story that began a new era for these institutions.

CONCLUSION

Although I originally had somewhat chauvinistic feelings about the policy of admitting women to the military academies, I must admit that I feel this was an action whose time had come. I can see no legitimate reason for denying women this opportunity.

The means by which the policy was legitimated reflects the controversial nature of the issue. The proponents of admitting women to the academies were successful in their endeavor. However, their success was more a result of their vehicle for legitimation than outright agreement by all parties concerned on the issue. By attaching the policy to essential legislation, they forced capitulation by the opponents.

In retrospect, the opponents are probably the biggest winners in the whole process. The military establishment, and the academies in particular, broadened their base of support during a period of waning overall support.

The policy has had no significant implementation problems and quickly gained widespread acceptance by the original opponents. There has been no move to attempt reversal of the policy or circumvent its implementation. It is now an accepted policy that will undoubtedly stand the

test of time.

APPENDIX

Section 803(a) of Pub. L. 94-106 provided that: ' . . . the Secretary of the military department concerned shall take such action as may be necessary and appropriate to insure that (1) female individuals shall be eligible for appointment and admission to the service academy concerned, beginning with appointments to such academy for the class beginning in calendar year 1976, and (2) the academic and other relevant standards required for appointment, admission, training, graduation, and commissioning of female individuals shall be the same as those required for male individuals, except for those minimum essential adjustments in such standards required because of physiological differences between male and female individuals.'

Section 803(c) of Pub. L. 94-106 provided that: 'It is the sense of Congress that, subject to the provisions of subsection (a) [note set out above], the Secretaries of the military departments shall, under the direction of the Secretary of Defense, continue to exercise the authority granted them . . . but such authority must be exercised within a program providing for the orderly and expeditious admission of women to the academies, consistent with the needs of the services, with the implementation of such program upon enactment of this Act [Oct. 7, 1975].' (21:566)

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